

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 IO-12 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-09 H-02 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-12

OIC-04 NEA-10 GAC-01 TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 ACDA-19

CU-04 COME-00 EB-11 STR-08 RSR-01 /166 W

----- 010220

R 061820 Z APR 73

FM AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5941

INFO SECDEF WASHDC

ALL CSCE CAPITALS 203

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION BERLIN

USDEL SALT

USMISSION GENEVA 286

USNMR SHPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLOSACLANT

C O N F I D E N T I A L HELSINKI 940

E. O. 11652/ GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: CSCE: SUMMARY ASSESSMENT OF THIRD ROUND OF
MULTILATERAL PREPARATORY TALKS

VIENNA ALSO FOR US REP MBFR

GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM USDEL MPT

BEGIN SUMMARY. SOVIETS HAVE STAKED OUT A TOUGH
NEGOTIATING POSITION ON SEVERAL KEY ISSUES, PARTICULARLY
ON FRONTIER INVIOABILITY, HUMAN CONTACTS, PRIOR NOTIF-
CATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS, AND PRINCIPLES OF
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MFN AND NON- DISCRIMINATION. SOVIET FIRMNESS HAS ONLY
ENCOURAGED THOSE ALLIES WHO WISH TO SLOW DOWN MPT

ESTABLISH A CLOSER PARALLELISM WITH MBFR, AND ADD TO DIFFICULTIES IN MEETING LATE JUNE DATE FOR OPENING MINISTERIAL MEETING.

ON THE POSITIVE SIDE, MPT-3 HAS WITNESSED A SHIFT FROM SET-PIECE STATEMENTS OF PREVIOUS ROUNDS TO THE BEGINNINGS OF ACTUAL DRAFTING OF MANDATES FOR THE SUBSTANTIVE WORK OF CSCE. THE SOVIETS HAVE MOVED FROM THEIR EARLIER OPPOSITION TO SPECIFIC AND COMPREHENSIVE "TASKS" FOR COMMITTEES, AND THEY ARE NOW WORKING WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE MORE DETAILED MANDATES PROPOSED BY THE WESTERN ALLIES. NONETHELESS, HARD BARGAINING ON PRECISE TEXTS AWAITS MPT-4, WHICH ON APRIL 25 WILL BEGIN EFFORT TO COMPLETE SUBSTANTIVE AND PROCEDURAL PREPARATIONS FOR THE MINISTERIAL. END SUMMARY

MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCES

1. FRONTIER INVIOABILITY. THE SOVIETS HAVE INSISTED THAT PRINCIPLE OF INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS MUST BE LISTED AS A SEPARATE POINT IN THE MANDATE ON PRINCIPLES GUIDING RELATIONS BETWEEN PARTICIPATING STATES, WITHOUT ANY SPECIFIC LINKAGE TO THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-USE OF FORCE. FRG HAS HINTED ITS WILLINGNESS EVENTUALLY TO ACCEPT THIS BUT ONLY AS PART OF A PACKAGE DEAL. GERMANS AND MOST OTHER ALLIES ARE NOT YET WILLING TO MAKE THIS CRUCIAL CONCESSION, WHICH WOULD ENABLE SOVIETS TO ACHIEVE THEIR PRINCIPAL CSCE GOAL, UNLESS MANDATE ALSO CONTAINS: PRINCIPLES ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND SELF-DETERMINATION, AN INDICATION OF PREFERRED SOURCES WHICH WOULD NOT PREJUDICE ALLIED POSITION IN SUBSEQUENT DRAFTING OF A DECLARATION, AND ADEQUATE ANTI-BREZHNEV DOCTRINE LANGUAGE.

2. HUMAN CONTACTS. SOVIETS ARE WILLING TO ACCEPT A FAIRLY DETAILED MANDATE ON BROADENING OF CULTURAL COOPERATION, EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGES, AND "EXCHANGE" OF INFORMATION, AND PROMOTION OF TOURISM, MEETINGS AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE, AND SPORTS EXCHANGES. THEY HAVE TAKEN FIRM POSITION HOWEVER AGAINST INCLUSION OF "WIDER CONFIDENTIAL

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FLOW" OF INFORMATION AND OF ALLIES' PRINCIPAL "FREER MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE" PROPOSALS, I. E., IMPROVEMENT OF CONDITIONS FOR MARRIAGE BETWEEN NATIONALS OF PARTICIPATING STATES, FAMILY REUNIFICATION, AND TRAVEL BETWEEN AND WITHIN PARTICIPATING STATES. (THE LATTER POINT, WOULD ENCOMPASS CURRENTLY SENSITIVE QUESTION OF EXIT VISAS AND EMIGRATION TAXES.)

3. SOME ALLIES HAVE HINTED AT FLEXIBILITY IN FINDING

SOLUTION TO HUMAN CONTACTS QUESTION, BUT SOVIET RIGIDITY IN WORKINGGROUP AT THIS ADVANCED STAGE (DESPITE AMBASSADOR MENDELEVICH' S MORE ENCOURAGING SIGNALS IN CORRIDOR) ONLY STRENGTHENS CONVICTIONS OF THOSE ALLIES WHO WISH TO HOLD BACK IN MPT.

4. MILITARY ASPECTS OF SECURITY. ALTHOUGH AGREEMENT IS NEAR ON CONFIDENCE- BUILDING MEASURES, SOVIETS HAVE PLACED RESERVATION ON ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY " MOVEMENTS," AS DISTINCT FROM " MANEUVERS." ALLIES HAVE ARGUED THAT WITHOUT INCLUSION OF " MOVEMENTS," THIS MEASURE COULD EVEN OPEN WAY TO A NEW SOURCE OF TENSION SINCE MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS ARE NOT CONCEALABLE IN ANY CASE.

5. ADDITIONAL PROBLEM AREA IS CONTINUED INSISTENCE OF SOME ALLIES, ROMANIA AND YUGOSLAVIA THAT CSCE PREPARE DECLARATION ON SECURITY AND ESTABLISH INFORMATION LINK WITH MBFR. U. S. AND FRANCE FIRMLY RESISTED ANY ATTEMPT TO GO BEYOND THE TWO CONFIDENCE- BUILDING MEASURES IN THE ORIGINAL NATO PROPOSAL (ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS AND MANEUVERS, EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS AT MANEUVERS), SOVIETS, HOWEVER, HAVE INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO SEE REFERENCE TO DISARMAMENT AND ARMS LIMITATION AND TO RIGHT OF PARTICIPANTS TO RAISE ADDITIONAL MILITARY SECURITY PROPOSALS IN CSCE.

PACE OF WORK

6. LAST MINUTE HARDENING OF SOVIET POSITION ON HUMAN CONTACTS AND DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION WILL SLOW DOWN PROGRESS OF MPT. ITALY, BELGIUM AND NETHERLANDS, FOR EXAMPLE, WHO HAVE CONSISTENTLY ARGUED FOR SLOWER PACE IN ORDER TO EXTRACT GREATER SOVIET CONCESSIONS BOTH IN HELSINKI AND VIENNA, WILL NOW ARGUE FOR A STAND- PAT POSTURE IN MPT-4. THEIR POSITION WILL MAKE IT MORE CONFIDENTIAL

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DIFFICULT TO WORK OUT BARGAINING POSITIONS IN NATO DURING THE FORTHCOMING RECESS WHICH MAY WELL LEAD TO PAINSTAKING, TIT- FOR- TAT NEGOTIATIONS IN MPT-4.

7. THESE DIFFICULTIES, OF COURSE, COULD AFFECT MPT' S ABILITY TO MEET THE TARGET DATE OF LATE JUNE FOR THE FIRST MINISTERIAL MEETING. HOWEVER, IF THE SOVIETS COME BACK TO MPT-4 IN MORE FLEXIBLE POSTURE IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO MAKE ADEQUATE PROGRESS. FOR WESTERN NEGOTIATORS TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF SUCH OPPORTUNITIES WHICH PRESUMABLY WILL EMERGE BECAUSE LATE JUNE IS ALSO SOVIET TARGET DATE, THE U. S. AND ITS ALLIES WILL NEED TO DEVELOP A CLEARER UNDERSTANDING DURING THE RECESS OF WHAT POTENTIAL TRADE-OFFS THEIR NEGOTIATORS WILL BE ABLE TO ACCEPT.

ATMOSPHERE AND PUBLIC RELATIONS

8. DELEGATIONS HERE EXPECTED SOVIETS TO BEGIN WITH A TOUGH NEGOTIATING POSITION ON HUMAN CONTACTS, (TOUGHENED PROBABLY BY LACK OF PROGRESS ON INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS), BUT THE HARSH STYLE, AND LASTMINUTE TIMING OF ZORIN' S ATTACK ON WESTERN APPROACH TO HUMAN CONTACTS HAS CLOUDED THE ATMOSPHERE. ALTHOUGH DELEGATES AFTER REFLECTION CONCLUDED THIS WAS SOVIET TACTICAL MOVE AND NOT ABSOLUTE REJECTION, THEY WILL RETURN TO MPT-4 IN A MORE WARY AND UNCERTAIN MOOD THAN HERETOFORE.

9. THERE HAVE BEEN ALMOST NO PRESS LEAKS OF THE CONFIDENTIAL SESSIONS OF THE MPT-3 WORKING GROUP. THIS WAS FORTUNATE SINCE PUBLIC AIRING OF THE POLITICALLY SENSITIVE SPARRING THERE WOULD MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT TO OVERCOME DIFFERENCES.

10. HELSINKI 885 OUTLINED KEY QUESTIONS WHICH MIGHT BE DISCUSSED IN NATO DURING THE RECESS. SEPTELS REPORT IN MORE DETAIL ON INTERSTATES PRINCIPLES, MILITARY ASPECTS, ECONOMIC COOPERATION, AND HUMAN CONTACTS.

WHITE

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 07 MAY 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 06 APR 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: garlanwa
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973HELSIN00940
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: HELSINKI
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730460/abqceezp.tel
Line Count: 185
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: garlanwa
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 09 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <09-Aug-2001 by izenbei0>; APPROVED <30-Oct-2001 by garlanwa>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> gwr 971203
Subject: CSCE: SUMMARY ASSESSMENT OF THIRD ROUND OF MULTILATERAL PREPARATORY TALKS
TAGS: PFOR, FI, CSCE
To: STATE INFO SECDEF
ALL CSCE CAPITALS
EC BRUSSELS
BERLIN
SALT
N GENEVA
USNMR SHPE

USCINCEUR
USDOCOSOUTH
USLOSACLANT

Type: TE

Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005